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THE ORIENTAL IN ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

LOUIS WANN

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THE ORIENTAL IN ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

The purpose of the study whose results I propose to outline in the following paper has been threefold. I have endeavored:

First, to bring together a corpus of Elizabethan plays dealing with oriental matter. I have restricted my study to those plays produced from 1558 to 1642, in which the events portrayed take place or could take place since the rise of the Ottoman empire in the thirteenth century. Furthermore, I have included only those plays in which at least one Oriental appears in the *dramatis personae*. I have also taken account of both extant and non-extant plays, out of regard for the light which the latter throw on the subjects and general nature of these oriental plays and as an indicator of the interest taken by Elizabethans in the Orient.

Secondly, to make an analysis of the plays thus collected, on the basis of: (1) types of plays; (2) sources; (3) scenes of action; (4) nationalities represented; (5) customs depicted.

Thirdly, with this corpus as a basis and this analysis as a guide, aided also by an examination of the political situation in Europe and the relations between the English and the Orientals, to determine how extensive and how accurate was the knowledge of the Elizabethans regarding the Orient.

I. CORPUS OF PLAYS

Following is the body of plays which I have considered in this study. They are arranged in chronological order, according to the most probable date of first production or writing. The titles italicized indicate non-extant plays. I have given in every case what information is ascertainable in regard to: (1) title; (2) type of play; (3) author; (4) general source employed; (5) source employed for the oriental matter. "Un." indicates unknown. It will be noticed that the general source by no means corresponds necessarily with the oriental source.

LIST OF PLAYS

1. 1579. *The Blacksmith's Daughter*. Com. of travel. Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un.
2. 1580. *The History of the Soldan and the Duke of ———*. Type un. Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un.
3. 1581. *Solymannidae*. Lat. trag. of palace intrigue. Auth. un. G. S. Georgievitz (?). O. S. same (?). Brit. Mus. MS.
4. 1586. *The Spanish Tragedy*. Trag. Auth. T. Kyd. G. S. un. O. S. Wotton.
5. 1587. *Tamburlaine the Great, I*. Conq. play. Auth. C. Marlowe. G. S. Fortescue, Perondinus. O. S. same.
6. 1587. *Tamburlaine the Great, II*. Same as I.
7. 1588. *Soliman and Perseda*. Trag. Auth. T. Kyd (?). G. S. Wotton. O. S. same.
8. 1588. *The First Part of the Tragical Reign of Selimus*. Conq. play. Auth. R. Greene (?). G. S. Paulus Jovius. O. S. same.
9. ca. 1588. *Tamber Cam, I*. Conq. play. Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un. Plot extant.
10. ca. 1588. *Tamber Cam, II*. Same as I.
11. ca. 1589. *The Rich Jew of Malta*. Trag. Auth. C. Marlowe. G. S. un. O. S. un.
12. 1589. *Alphonsus, King of Aragon*. T. C. Auth. R. Greene. G. S. Facio (likely). O. S. un.
13. ca. 1590. *Lust's Dominion*. Trag. Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un.
14. 1591. *The Battle of Alcazar*. Trag. Auth. G. Peele. G. S. Frigius. O. S. same.
15. ca. 1593. *The True History of George Scanderbeg*. Conq. play. Auth. C. Marlowe (?). G. S. un. O. S. un.
16. 1594. *The Merchant of Venice*. Com. Auth. W. Shakspeare. G. S. Fiorentino, *Gesta Romanorum*, etc. O. S. un.
17. 1594. *The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek*. Trag. (?). Auth. G. Peele. G. S. un. O. S. un.
18. 1596. *The Famous History of Captain Thomas Stukeley*. Biog. Chron. Auth. un. G. S. other plays, ballads, Frigius. O. S. same.
19. 1597. *Frederick and Basilea*. Rom. drama (?). Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un. Plot extant.
20. 1598. *Vayvode*. Type un. Auth. H. Chettle. G. S. un. O. S. un.
21. 1600. *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy*. Trag. Auth. Dekker, Haughton, Day. G. S. pamphlet (?), older play (?). O. S. same (?).

22. *ca.* 1600. *Alaham*. Senecan Trag. Auth. F. Greville. G. S. un. O. S. un.
23. 1601. *Mahomet*. Conq. play (?). Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un.
24. 1602. *A "Comedy"* (on the capture of Stuhlweissenburg by the Turks). Com. (?). Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un.
25. 1602. *Zulziman*. Conq. play (?). Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un.
26. 1603. *Tomumbeius sive Sultanici in Aegypto Imperii Eversio*. Lat. conq. play. Auth. G. Salterne. G. S. un. O. S. un.
27. 1604. *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice*. Trag. Auth. W. Shakspeare. G. S. Cinthio. O. S. same.
28. 1605. *Masque of Moors*. Masque (?). Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un.
29. 1606. *Mustapha*. Trag. Auth. F. Greville. G. S. Georgievitz (?). O. S. same (?).
30. 1607. *Mulleasses, the Turk*. Trag. Auth. J. Mason. G. S. un. O. S. un.
31. 1607. *The Travails of Three English Brothers*. Chron. of adventure. Auth. Day, W. Rowley, Wilkins. G. S. Nixon. O. S. same.
32. 1610. *A Christian Turned Turk, or the Tragical Lives of Two Famous Pirates, Ward and Dansiker*. Play of adventure. Auth. R. Daborne. G. S. pamphlets, ballads. O. S. same.
33. *ca.* 1610. *The Fair Maid of the West, or a Girl Worth Gold*,¹ I. Com. of travel. Auth. T. Heywood. G. S. un. O. S. un.
34. *ca.* 1610. *The Fair Maid of the West, or a Girl Worth Gold*,¹ II. Same as I.
35. 1611. *The White Devil, or Vittoria Corombona*. Trag. Auth. J. Webster. G. S. un. O. S. un.
36. 1619. *The Knight of Malta*. T. C. Auth. (Beaumont and) Fletcher, Massinger, Field (?). G. S. Bandello, Boccaccio. O. S. Bandello.
37. 1624. *Revenge for Honor*. Trag. Auth. H. Glapthorne. G. S. Knolles. O. S. same.
38. 1624. *The City Nightcap*. T. C. Auth. R. Davenport. G. S. other plays (?). O. S. same (?).
39. 1624. *The Renegado*. T. C. Auth. P. Massinger. G. S. Cervantes. O. S. same.
40. *ca.* 1627. *The Courageous Turk, or Amurath I*. Trag. Auth. T. Goffe. G. S. Knolles. O. S. same.

¹ As scholars do not agree as to the date of these plays, ranging as they do from 1603 to 1622, I have placed them here as coming logically among the other plays of travel and adventure.

41. *ca.* 1627. The Raging Turk, or Bajazet II. Trag. Auth. T. Goffe. G. S. Knolles. O. S. same.
42. 1638. Osmond, the Great Turk or the Noble Servant. Trag. Auth. L. Carlell. G. S. Knolles. O. S. same.
43. 1638. The Fool Would Be a Favourite, or the Discreet Lover. T. C. Auth. L. Carlell. G. S. un. O. S. un.
44. 1639. The Rebellion. Trag. Auth. T. Rawlins. G. S. un. O. S. un.
45. *ca.* 1642. Mirza. Trag. Auth. R. Baron. G. S. Herbert, correspondence (?). O. S. Herbert, correspondence (?).
46. *ca.* 1642. The Sophy. Trag. Auth. J. Denham. G. S. Herbert. O. S. same.
47. un. Antonio of Ragusa.¹ Hist. (?). Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un. Bodl. MS.

We have, then, a body of 47 plays, 13 of which are non-extant. They cover the period from 1579, the date of the first known play dealing with oriental matter, to 1642, the date of the closing of the theaters. On examination, it will be seen that the 47 plays of this period of 63 years fall, rather roughly, into four groups, separated by intervals of years when no plays of the kind were produced. These chronological groups are as follows:

I. 1579-1581	3 years	3 plays.
II. 1586-1611	25 years	32 plays.
III. 1619-1627	8 years	6 plays.
IV. 1638-1642	4 years	5 plays.
Date unknown	<i>Antonio of Ragusa.</i>	

Group II is clearly the main one. In this period of 25 years, containing nowhere intervals of more than 2 years, 32 plays were produced. It is in this period that the interest of the Elizabethans in the presentation of oriental characters, life, history, and customs was strongest. While of no great significance, is not this fact of some interest when taken in connection with the state of English drama in general during this period? It was, roughly speaking, this same period, from 1586 to 1611, that saw the greatest activity in the

¹ While the exact date of this play is unknown, Schelling includes it in his list of Elizabethan plays. See Falconer Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western MSS in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, III, 301, where the words "second half of the eighteenth century" are evidently a misprint for "second half of the sixteenth century."

Elizabethan drama at large. By far the greater part of the entire body of plays produced during the 85 years from 1558 to 1642 appeared within these 25 years. Not only that, but practically all the vital stages in the development of Elizabethan drama, from its rise under Marlowe and Kyd to its perfection under Shakspeare, are here seen. In fact, the very first play on our list of this period, *The Spanish Tragedy* of Thomas Kyd, may in a sense be taken as the starting-point, not only of the drama dealing with the Orient, but of the whole body of Elizabethan drama, as first fashioned in the school of Kyd, Marlowe, Greene, and Peele. And if such comparatively crude plays as *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Soliman and Perseda*, and *Tamburlaine* mark not only the beginning in oriental plays, but in the drama as a whole, we have fifteen or twenty years later the masterpiece of *Othello*, in which the central figure is an Oriental, and the dramatic art of which is as far removed from that of the three plays mentioned as is the noble Othello from the despicable Moor of this same author's *Titus Andronicus*.

When, again, we consider the authors of these oriental plays, we find that a goodly number of the important playwrights of the period were attracted to oriental matter. In this period of twenty-five years we find represented Kyd, Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Shakspeare, Dekker, Day, Greville, Heywood, and Webster. Extending our examination to the end of the Elizabethan period, we can add the names of Fletcher, Massinger, Glapthorne, Carlell, and Denham. With the plays of the period distributed thus widely among the important playwrights of the time, we are justified in the assertion that the production of oriental plays was not due to the fancy of any one author or group of authors, but that the interest of the Elizabethans was so considerable as to induce a majority of the main playwrights to write at least one play dealing with oriental matter.

II. ANALYSIS OF PLAYS

We now come to an analysis of the plays themselves. First, we shall consider the types into which these plays fall. The following summary will give the broad types under which they may be classified and the relative frequency of each type.

SUMMARY

A. Tragedies	19
B. Conqueror plays	9
C. Plays of travel and adventure	7
D. Tragi-comedies	5
E. Dramatic romances, etc.	4
F. Type unknown	3
	<hr/>
	47

The first thing that strikes us in glancing at this summary is the great predominance of serious plays. The tragedies and conqueror plays in themselves number 28, and if we add 3 of the plays of travel and adventure, *Stukeley*, *The Battle of Alcazar*, and *A Christian Turned Turk*, which are also tragedies in a different form, we have 31 plays out of 47 which are essentially tragic in nature. Of the remaining third, 16 in number, 5 are tragi-comedies and 4 are plays of travel and adventure of a tragi-comic nature. Only 4 out of the whole number merit classification under the lighter head of dramatic romances, comedies, and masques. Even here, the tragi-comic element in *The Merchant of Venice*, the only extant play of the group, hardly justifies us in separating it from the other tragi-comedies. And while it is probable that the three non-extant plays of this group were really in a somewhat lighter vein than the average tragi-comedy, we know too little of them to justify us in concluding that we have here a group which, in any real sense, merits classification under the comic as opposed to the serious type of drama. Of three plays we know nothing of the type, though it is likely that *Vayvode* was a conqueror play or tragedy similar to *Scanderbeg*, treating of the long struggle between one of the Vayvodes of Wallachia and the Ottoman Turks.

Two-thirds of all these oriental plays, then, are tragic in nature. And of the remaining 16 plays, at least 9 are tragi-comic. Even accepting the 4 plays of the comic group as really comic in nature, we should have a miserably small representation. It is clear that there was something about the oriental matter dealt with which demanded serious treatment. Perhaps this was to be expected when we consider the probable conception which the Elizabethans had of the Orient as the domain where war, conquest, fratricide,

lust, and treachery had freer play than in the lands nearer home—a conception more or less justified by the actual facts. On the other hand, it may be due simply to the fact that the Elizabethans, like all other peoples before and since, not only interested themselves to a greater extent in the more serious because the more striking aspects in the affairs of foreigners, but that they actually knew much more about the wars and conquests of the Orientals than about the less serious and more common affairs of these people. Whatever the cause, the fact remains: the Elizabethan plays dealing with oriental matter were predominantly serious in nature.

1. *Types of plays*.—In regard to most of the types represented, little comment is required. It may be noticed, however, that without exception all of the plays dealing entirely with Orientals are either pure tragedies or conqueror plays. Those into which Orientals and Occidentals alike enter are for the most part tragi-comedies or plays of travel and adventure. These last form an interesting group. The first in point of time is *The Blacksmith's Daughter*, referred to in Gosson's *School of Abuse* (1579) as "containing the trechery of Turks, the honourable bountye of a noble mind, the shining of vertue in distresse."¹ In *Stukeley* and *The Battle of Alcazar*, we have the glorification of an adventurous Englishman, who, after performing numerous exploits on land and sea, meets his death in northern Africa in the battle of Alcazar. Just as these two plays are founded on the facts of Stukeley's life, which terminated in 1578 in the historical battle of Alcazar, so all the rest of these plays of adventure are founded, more or less loosely, on current events. *The Travails of Three English Brothers* depicts the adventures of the Sherley brothers in Persia and is based on the highly colored narrative by Anthony Nixon which describes with much distortion of facts the actual experiences of Anthony, Robert, and Thomas Sherley at the Persian court and elsewhere. *A Christian Turned Turk* is one of those plays resulting from the popular interest in a number of daring sea robberies that occurred about 1609. This play, based on ballads and pamphlets of the moment, and a number of others served the function of modern newspapers and told the people all about these sensational events. *The Fair Maid of the West* is of the same nature. It breathes

¹ P. 30 (in the *Shakspeare Society Pub.*, Vol. II).

of the very air of Plymouth and the salt sea, and the life of the sea-rover is made strikingly vivid. In all these plays there is rapid shifting of the scenes of action. Perhaps in no other type of play can we see so well the boundless energy and love of excitement that we always associate with the Elizabethans.

2. *Sources of plays*.—Before dealing with the sources of these particular plays, it may be well to take some notice of the entire body of sources that might have been utilized by the Elizabethan dramatist for the oriental matter of his play. Von Hammer in his *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* gives a “Verzeichniss der in Europa (ausser Constantinopel) erschienenen, osmanische Geschichte betreffenden Werke.”¹ His complete list numbers 3,176 items. If we take only those likely to have been known to the Elizabethans—those printed between 1500 and 1640—we have over 1,600 items. These are mostly histories, but include also ballads, poems, tracts, pamphlets, and stories. The majority are in Latin, but a great number are in German, French, Italian, and Spanish, and some in English. The dramatist, then, had certainly no dearth of material which he could draw upon for the history, customs, and character of the Orientals. In fact, as Herford points out,² the history of the Turks was a perfectly “safe” subject in every European book-market in the sixteenth century. The Ottoman empire was the mightiest in the world, and interest in the doings of the Turks was naturally intense. With these facts in mind, we shall not be inclined to regard a book dealing with the Orient as by any means an oddity and can see that the employment of such books as sources for plays was not only not an unusual thing, but a thing most naturally to be expected.

Following is the list of sources used for oriental matter, arranged chronologically in the order in which they were first employed for particular plays.

SOURCES USED FOR ORIENTAL MATTER

1. Georgievitz, Bartholomaeus. *De Turcarum Moribus*, ca. 1481.
 - (a) *Solymannidae*, 1581.
 - (b) *Mustapha*, 1606.

¹ Joseph von Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (Pest, 1827), Vol. X.

² *The Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 168.

2. Wotton, Henry. *Courtlie Controversie of Cupids Cautels*, 1578.
 (a) *The Spanish Tragedy*, 1586.¹
 (b) *Soliman and Perseda*, 1588.¹
3. Fortescue, Thomas. *The Foreste or Collection of Histories . . . dooen out of Frenche into Englishe*, etc., 1571.
 (a) *Tamburlaine*, I and II, 1587.
4. Perondinus, Peter. *Magni Tamerlanis Scytharum Imperatoris Vita*, etc., 1553.
 (a) *Tamburlaine*, I and II, 1587.
5. Jovius, Paulus. *Rerum Turcicorum Commentarius*, etc., ca. 1550.
 (a) *Selimus*, 1588.²
6. Frigius, John Thomas. *Historia de Bello Africano*, etc., 1580.
 (a) *Battle of Alcazar*, 1591.
 (b) *Stukeley*, 1596.
7. Other Plays.
 (a) *Stukeley*, 1596.
 (b) *The City Nightcap*, 1624.
8. Ballads.
 (a) *Stukeley*, 1596.
 (b) *A Christian Turned Turk*, 1610.³
9. Cinthio, Giovanni Battista Giraldi. *Gli Hecatommithi*, 1565.
 (a) *Othello*, 1604.
10. Nixon, Anthony. (A pamphlet describing the travels of the Sherley brothers, title not ascertained), 1607.
 (a) *Travails of Three English Brothers*, 1607.
11. Pamphlets (miscellaneous).
 (a) *A Christian Turned Turk*, 1610.³
12. Bandello, Matteo. *Novelle*, 1554.
 (a) *The Knight of Malta*, 1619.⁴
13. Knolles, Richard. *The Generall Historie of the Turkes from the first beginning*, etc., 1603.
 (a) *Revenge for Honour*, 1624.
 (b) *The Courageous Turk*, 1627.
 (c) *The Raging Turk*, 1627.
 (d) *Osmond*, 1638.
14. Cervantes, Miguel de. (1) *Comedia de los Banos de Argel*, about 1585, and (2) *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, 1605.
 (a) *The Renegado*, 1624.⁵

¹ See Gregor Sarrazin, *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis* (1892).

² See Hugo Gilbert, *Robert Greene's Selimus* (Kiel, 1899).

³ See A. E. H. Swaen, "Robert Daborne's Plays," *Anglia*, Vol. XX.

⁴ See Erich Blülm, *Über "The Knight of Malta" und seine Quellen* (Halle, 1903).

⁵ See Theodor Heckmann, *Massinger's "The Renegado" und seine spanischen Quellen* (Halle-Wittenberg, 1905).

15. Herbert, Sir Thomas. *Some Years Travels into Divers Parts of Africa and Asia the Great*, etc., 1638.
 - (a) *Mirza*, 1642.
 - (b) *The Sophy*, 1642.
16. Correspondence (of an ambassador of Charles I at the Persian court to friends at Cambridge).
 - (a) *Mirza*, 1642.

We have here the sources for the oriental matter employed in 22 of the 47 plays. The sources for the remaining 25 are not yet ascertained. However, 13 of these 25 are non-extant, so that we lack the sources of only 12 extant plays. Among the chief of these are *The Jew of Malta*, *Alaham*, *Tomumbeius*, and *The Fair Maid of the West*. What investigation I have been able to make regarding these plays has thrown no definite light on the question of their sources.

It will be seen from this list that in the majority of cases histories were the sources employed. Out of 27 instances enumerated showing the employment of some source, 15 point to the use of histories. In 7 cases these histories were in Latin, and they were all used comparatively early. No Latin source has been proved to have been used for a play written since 1606. The English histories, on the other hand, were all employed long after 1606, with the single exception of Fortescue's work, which is itself a translation from the French. Of the Latin histories, Georgievitz, Frigius, and Perondinus were each used twice. Of the English historians, Knolles was used 4 times, Herbert twice, and Fortescue twice. It is surprising to find that Knolles was not oftener used, especially in view of the frequently met assertion on the part of scholars and historians of the drama that Knolles was the common source for plays dealing with oriental matter. Professor Schelling's statement that "the general source for English dramatists dealing with the history of the Ottoman Empire is Knolles's *General History of the Turks*, 1603"¹ is certainly inaccurate, in view of the fact that of the dozen or so plays that can properly be construed as dealing with the history of the Ottoman empire, 6 were written before Knolles's history came out, and only 4 of the entire number point unmistakably to this as a source.

¹ *Elizabethan Drama*, II, 496.

Next in importance to histories come stories. But we have only 5 definite instances of their use: Wotton was used twice, Cinthio, Bandello, and Cervantes once each. It is not unlikely that stories may have been the material employed in some of those plays whose sources are not known, as for example *The Jew of Malta*, *Alaham*, and *Mulleasses*, though I am more inclined to think that *Mulleasses* and *Alaham* are the results of a rather grave distortion by the dramatists themselves of events recorded in histories. Plays are used twice, ballads twice, pamphlets twice, and correspondence once.

This completes the list of the positively known sources. Only one inference of any definiteness can be drawn therefrom: that history of some kind was very largely the storehouse for the oriental matter in these plays. And while ballads, stories, and pamphlets were also used to some extent, it is quite probable that if we knew the sources of the remaining 25 plays, we should find them to have been in large measure these same or similar histories, if for no other reason than that many of them are concerned with precisely the same subjects treated in the plays we know to have been thus derived.

Accuracy of sources: We come now to the question of the reliability of the sources used. For if we are eventually to determine the extent and accuracy of the Elizabethan's knowledge of the Orient as exhibited in these plays, we must know, in addition to the knowledge he acquired otherwise, not only the sources employed, but how closely these sources were followed, and how accurate they were. Some of these sources we know. As to the closeness with which they were followed, little need be said, as it is clear that in the great majority of cases, the dramatist has adhered faithfully to the account of the historian, story-teller, or pamphleteer. *Tamburlaine* is a good example of this, showing, both in the description of Tamburlaine himself taken from the Latin of Perondinus and in the sequence of events as taken from Fortescue, how closely Marlowe adhered to his sources. In *Osmond* and *Revenge for Honor*, to be sure, the dramatist takes liberties with his material. But these plays, unlike *Mustapha* and *Solymanndae*, which use the same material, do not pretend to be historical, and the dramatist cannot be called to account for failing to give us *the* story, when all he intended was to give us *a* story. With these and other minor exceptions, as in both

Goffe's Turkish plays for example, we can credit the Elizabethan dramatist with following with tolerable faithfulness the materials he used.

It is now necessary to determine in how far these sources, thus faithfully followed, present an accurate account of the history or a truthful picture of the customs and character of the oriental peoples. We shall leave out of account the stories and ballads, which from their nature are not amenable to criticism from the standpoint of *fact*, however much we may ask them to present the essential *truth*, which as a rule they do. We shall consider, then, the histories, which were used in the majority of cases as sources for these plays.

Needless to say, history was not then written in the scientific spirit. Each historian copied from his predecessor, with or without acknowledgment, and felt no compunction in coloring the narrative to increase its interest, or in mingling legend with fact, with the result that his successor honestly accepted the whole as fact and so transmitted it to *his* successor with his own embellishments. And while it is true that, especially among the writers nearest the scene of action in time or place, the essential *truth* of the narrative is rarely lost sight of, it was inevitable that later writers, who were more and more distant from the time and place of the events described, should lose the sense of proportion, elevate legends to the rank of facts, and so give to the whole story the tinge of romantic untruth.

Many examples might be cited in illustration of this phenomenon. But three instances will suffice—the stories of “The Murder of Mustapha,” “Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek,” “Bajazet and the Iron Cage.” The first of these stories is the basis of the main plot in three plays: *Solymannidae*, *Mustapha*, and *Revenge for Honor*; while it also enters prominently into two others: *Alaham* and *Osmond*. The plain facts about this famous episode, as given by von Hammer,¹ are these. Prince Mustapha, the eldest son and heir-apparent to the throne of Suleiman the Great, was an extremely accomplished and noble prince, a successful soldier, and the hope of the empire. But Roxolana, Suleiman's Russian favorite in the harem, desired the succession for her own son Selim. With the aid of the Grand Vezir Rustem Pasha, who had married her daughter, Roxolana

¹ III, 317–18.

succeeded in convincing Suleiman that Mustapha was plotting his father's overthrow, relying on his universal popularity among the soldiers and people. Suleiman, pretending to make a campaign against the Persians, marched his army into Asia Minor to the province then governed by Mustapha who innocently went to meet his father at Eregli. Pitching his tent beside Suleiman's, the Prince went to the latter to pay his respects to his father. But on entering he found no one to greet him but the seven dread mutes, who at once strangled him. On hearing the news, Mustapha's younger brother Tchihanger, who had loved him devotedly, fell ill and died of grief.

Now, to these plain facts as related by all Ottoman historians, the European historians have not only added many stories of attempts at poisoning, of secret letters, of Suleiman's urgent cries to the mutes to be swift in their work, and such other details as tend to augment Suleiman's crime, but they have even made the Sultan go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to expiate his crime, and, what is more important for us, have all agreed in reporting Tchihanger's death as due to *suicide*. This last particular is very important, as we shall see later in dealing with the customs of the Orientals, for, in addition to the fact that all 5 plays adopt many of the minor legendary accretions, 3 of them introduce quite prominently the *suicide* of Tchihanger, and the suicide of some character is a strong factor in all. Thus the dramatist, honestly following his source, has, not to mention minor inaccuracies, been led to portray Suleiman as a feelingless father and unreasonable tyrant, Tchihanger as a suicide, and Roxolana's daughter Carmena (in *Mustapha*) as a martyr to her love for her brother—all of which flatly contradicts the facts as related by all Ottoman historians and by von Hammer.

The second story is that of "Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek," used as the basis of the main plot in *Osmond*, *The Courageous Turk*, and presumably in Peele's non-extant play of *Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek*. It is also the subject of Gilbert Swinhoe's *The Unhappy Fair Irene* (1658), of Charles Goring's *Irene, or the Fair Greek* (1708), and Dr. Johnson's *Irene* (1749).¹ There is only one bare thread of a fact upon which the whole marvelous story has

¹ See also the poem by William Barksted entitled "Hiren or the Fair Greke," published in 1611.

hung these several centuries. I shall give in translation von Hammer's account of the incident and its transformation into a story of tragic romance.¹ After describing the capture of Euboea from the Venetians, July 12, 1470, by Mohammed II, von Hammer concludes:

Mohammed, in order to revenge himself for the loss of 50,000 men, satisfied his rage against the brave defenders of their fatherland by means of ingenious tortures. Some of the Venetians were impaled, some quartered, some stoned; but the Greeks were led away as slaves, Paul Erizzo, as the ambassador of Calayrita and Leontari, was sawed in two, *and his daughter, who did not show herself sufficiently yielding, was cut to pieces.*² Out of this incident has probably arisen the fable of Irene, which may well serve as material for an unhistorical tragedy (like that of Johnson's), but deserves no place in history, least of all on the authority of a novelist like Bandello, whom the most recent editor of Leonardus of Chios, the Premonstratensian l'Écuy, has not blushed in his notes to produce as an historical witness of this romantic episode.³

Out of this mere incident in one of Mahomet's campaigns, which took place, *not* in Turkey but in Greece, *not* in 1453 but in 1470, has developed the romantic story of the capture of the beautiful slave Irene during the siege of Constantinople, Mahomet's enslavement to her charms, the consequent disaffection among the soldiers at their Sultan's indifference to war, the sacrifice of the Sultan's love in cutting off his favorite's head in the presence of his troops, and Mahomet's immediate declaration to forswear the pleasures of the harem and straightway to lead his army to the battlefield against the Christians. Such is substantially the story of *Osmond* and *The Courageous Turk*, and most likely of Peele's play also.

The third story—that of "Bajazet and the Iron Cage," as seen in *Tamburlaine*, I—is perhaps the most interesting of all as showing what small errors on the part of historians can raise a mountain out of a molehill. Von Hammer devotes considerable space to the examination of this "question of the iron cage." After describing the capture of Bajazet by Tamburlaine, the kindness with which he was treated by his captor, Bajazet's abortive attempt to escape

¹ For further examples in German and French literature see Michael Stephen Öttering, *Die Geschichte der "Schönen Irene" in der modernen Litteratur* (Würzburg, 1897).

² The italics are mine.

³ II, 99–100, and note, p. 555.

through a tunnel in the ground, and the consequent necessity of keeping a closer guard on him, he says:

During the day a more numerous guard surrounded him, and at night he was put in fetters. From this, and from a false interpretation of the Turkish word *kafes*, which signifies "cage" and also "latticed room" or "litter," is derived the fable of the iron cage, repeated for so long a time by all the European historians after the Byzantine Phranzes and the Syrian Arab-Schah.¹

After passing in review all of the Ottoman historians, who naturally say nothing of an iron cage, he adds:

This accords with the following words of Neschri [one of the oldest Ottoman historians]: "Timur had made a litter in which he (Bajazet) was carried, just as in a *kafes* between two horses." It is evidently in this wrongly interpreted passage that we must recognize the primitive origin of the whole fable, which, growing with time, has finished by making itself a place in history. Not only does *kafes* mean, as we have said, a cage, but this word designates even today any latticed apartment of the women and even the dwelling of the Ottoman princes in the seraglio at Constantinople. *Kafes* is used also of the latticed litters in which the women of the harem are carried on journeys, and it is precisely in a vehicle of this sort that Bajazet was carried between two horses. Later some obscure Ottoman chroniclers, lovers of anecdotes, on the faith of a Syrian poetaster, transformed this litter into an iron cage.²

Such is the origin of the famous story of Bajazet's imprisonment in the iron cage which found place in all European histories, and which may be found illustrated, along with portraits of the sultans, in Lonicero's *Chronicum Turcicorum*.³ There is, of course, less foundation for the scene where Bajazet and his wife commit suicide by dashing their brains out against the bars of the cage. Bajazet died eight months after the battle in which he was taken prisoner, not by violence, but of a broken heart, unable to endure the ignominy of defeat.⁴

Thus is exemplified the almost inevitable tendency of legend to be treated as fact, given historians of a not too nice conscience and a taste for the romantic. These are perhaps small matters and do not greatly affect the question of the knowledge of the Elizabethans

¹ I, 317-18.

² I, 319-20.

³ Philippo Lonicero, *Chronicum Turcicorum* (Frankfort am Main, 1578), p. 12 B.

⁴ Ed. S. Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks* (1877), p. 49.

about the essential *truth* concerning the Orient. But it does show clearly that if Elizabethan dramatists erred in presenting false pictures of history or life, the blame was not theirs but that of the historians they followed.

3. *Scenes of action*.—Obviously of much less importance than the question just considered is that of the location of the action of these 47 plays. But it is not without some interest as a sort of visualization of the various peoples and lands that were presented to the Elizabethan audience. Needless to say, it is in many cases impossible definitely to localize the action, because of the shift from one land to another, from land to sea, and from continent to continent. In the following summary, therefore, I have been content to indicate the *general* locality of the *main* action of each play.

SCENES OF ACTION

A. European Turkey.....	12
B. North Africa.....	6
C. Italy.....	6
D. Asia Minor.....	4
E. Persia.....	4
F. Spain.....	4
G. Malta.....	2
H. Cyprus.....	1
I. Rhodes.....	1
J. Tartary.....	1
K. Arabia.....	1
L. Egypt.....	1
	<hr/>
	43
Scene unknown.....	4
	<hr/>
	47

Little comment is called for, as the table is self-explanatory. Two things, however, are worthy of notice: (1) that almost every country touching the Mediterranean is represented; and (2) that Turkey is the scene of more plays than any other land. Taken in connection with what follows and considered as an aid in the determination of our conclusions, these two points are of some importance.

4. *Nationalities represented*.—The question now to be considered—the various peoples represented in these plays and the accuracy

of the characterization—is perhaps deserving of more attention than any other phase of this investigation. But the scope and difficulty of any satisfactory study of the question have precluded anything but a general survey of the field; and I have been forced to base my conclusions mainly on the average student's knowledge of these peoples, supplemented by the additional knowledge I myself have acquired through a more or less intimate association with the present-day representatives of these same Orientals.

In the following summary I have indicated the frequency with which these various nationalities occur in the 47 plays under consideration.

NATIONALITIES REPRESENTED

Turks in.....	31 plays
Westerners.....	27 “
Moors.....	18 “
Eastern Christians.....	12 “
Persians.....	8 “
Tartars.....	5 “
Jews.....	6 “
Arabs.....	4 “
Egyptians.....	4 “

As Turkey was the land represented most often as the scene of action, so the Turks are the people occurring most frequently as characters. In fact, they occur oftener than the Westerners themselves—a fact more striking than appears at first sight; for the term Westerner includes all the Christian nationalities of Europe, whereas the Turk is only one of the half-dozen oriental races which figure in these plays. Clearly the interest in the Turks was stronger than in any other oriental race. The Moors come next and then the eastern Christians—rarely designated by race, but presumably Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, and so forth. The Persians, Tartars, Arabs, and Egyptians are much less prominent, owing not only to the less frequent contact of Westerners with these peoples, but also to the fact that they were much less “in the limelight” than their renowned neighbors, the Turks, and their coreligionists, the Moors. The Jews, of course, might occur in any play of most any character whatever.

And now what is the picture given us by the dramatist of these various races? I shall give briefly and with as little taint of

prepossessed ideas as possible the impression I have received of each of these various nationalities through the reading of these plays. I shall there point out wherein it seems to me the dramatist's characterization does or does not conform to the probably true characterization.

The Turks are generally represented as valiant, proud-spirited, and cruel. There is almost universal admiration for their valor, and I can think of no instance where they are considered in any marked degree deserving of contempt. The railing of avowed enemies, as that of Tamburlaine against Bajazet and the Turks, cannot of course be considered indicative of the *general* attitude toward them. Their pride of spirit is continually dwelt upon. Their cruelty is brought out more in their dealings with one another than in those with other peoples. This is shown most often in the introduction of parricide, especially fratricide—in the Mustapha plays, *Soliman and Perseda*, *Selimus*, and others. No particular color of face is noted—a fact which shows clearly that the dramatist distinguished sharply enough between the Turks and the Moors, as the color of the latter is almost invariably mentioned in a prominent way.¹ In the matter of the portrayal of good and bad Turks, the count stands about even. We have such villains as Ithamore in *The Jew of Malta* and Mulleasses in the play of that name. But we also have the distinctly noble character of Osmond in Carrell's play, the illustrious prince Mustapha in all the plays dealing with this story, and such minor characters as Lucinda in *The Knight of Malta*. There seems to be no indication of a prejudice against the Turk, and the dramatist has not, therefore, attempted deliberately to paint his worst side. As far as I can judge, he has given us a fairly accurate picture of the Turk of that time. It is true, of course, that the charge of cruelty against the Turk of today would be the grossest of libels, and there is scarcely any mention of that hospitality, patriarchal dignity and simplicity, and frank generosity that impress foreigners today as his most prominent qualities. But not only was the Turk most likely a different man at that time, but these simpler qualities would not be so easily known as his valor, pride, and cruelty. So it is more likely

¹ Contrast this with the frequent occurrence of the black-faced "Turkish knight" in the English mummers' plays. See *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, V, 36.

than not that the Elizabethan characterization of the Turk of 1600 was an accurate one.

The Moors are in some ways made similar to the Turks. They are almost always valiant and proud of spirit. But they differ in some ways also. They are more barbarous and distinctly lustful. We have only to think of Eleazar and Abdellah to get a distinct impression of their lustful leanings. But they are intelligent and masterful. And many are represented as exceedingly generous and noble. While Eleazar in *Lust's Dominion*, Zanche in *The White Devil*, and Abdellah in *The Knight of Malta* are shown as villains, yet who can doubt the nobility of Othello, in a less degree that of Joffer in *The Fair Maid of the West*, and also of Mullisheg in the same play? The Moors are persistently described as very dark, and almost invariably no distinction seems to be made between the inhabitants of northern Africa and the Negro. Why this confusion was made is a puzzling question, since in other respects they seem to have characterized the Moors with a fair degree of accuracy. No doubt a little too much stress was laid on their lustful inclinations—they were, in a measure, made the scapegoat for the sins of all men, though there was of course more justification for it than in the case of some other oriental races. On the whole, they seem to have been less respected than the Turks, and this was probably a pretty just estimate.

In distinction from the races just mentioned, the Elizabethans seem to have had very hazy ideas about the rest of the oriental nations. The Persians, Tartars, Arabs, and Egyptians might all have been cast in the same mold. Their morals are loose, and their monarchs are apt to be tyrannical. But there is not that definiteness of characterization that we find in the case of the Turks and Moors. Tamburlaine, to be sure, is clearly drawn, but in almost every other case we feel that a complete shift of characters, say from Arabia to Persia, would not have called for a change in characterization. On the score of indistinctness, then, these characters are certainly inaccurate.

The Jew, whom I have not considered as an Oriental, appears in six plays, and in every one he is *the* villain or *one* of them. He is either a grasping miser or a treacherous tool, and no sympathy is

ever shown for him. Eastern Christians are treated very slightly and figure almost universally as slaves and inferiors.

In brief, the characterization of the Oriental is fairly accurate, considering the fact that the great majority of dramatists very likely never saw one of them. The attitude toward him is usually one of genuine interest and, except in the case of the Moor, rarely shows any avowed prejudice, if allowances be made for the very natural religious antagonism of Christian toward Mohammedan. The confusion of Moor and Negro is of course an error. And we cannot claim a great deal for the dramatist's knowledge of the Orientals other than Turks and Moors. But I think we shall have to give him credit for a much more accurate and dispassionate portrayal of oriental character than we are wont to do.

5. *Customs depicted.*—We now come to the consideration of the last phase in the analysis of these plays. How closely are the Elizabethan dramatists in touch with the customs of the Orientals, and how accurate are they in depicting them? That their knowledge of oriental life was much greater than we usually give them credit for is quite evident. In almost everything that concerns the Mohammedan religion, the observance of its religious forms and the tenets of its followers, they display considerable knowledge. This is not remarkable when we consider the avidity with which Europeans seized upon all books relating to the religion and customs of the Turks and other Orientals and the great mass of such books that we have seen were at their command. And whatever may be said of the inaccuracy of the histories of the Orient, this charge can hardly be applied to the books describing oriental customs generally and religious customs in particular. For they were more often written by men who had *seen* what they described and dealt with contemporary matters and not with affairs of two hundred years past. Many of our plays are quite specific in describing religious tenets, as *Mus-tapha* and *Alaham*. The life of the seraglio and harem seems to have been fairly well known. And *The Renegado* of Massinger is an excellent example of a play showing throughout an intimate knowledge of minor but telling details in regard to oriental life that nobody but a careful student or an eyewitness could possess. Except for such minor inaccuracies as the mention of a church or temple in

place of a mosque, and allowing for the almost universal conception of the Turks as more superstitious than the Europeans, it is pretty certain that, generally speaking, the customs of the Orientals were depicted with a fair approach to accuracy and a proper conception of their significance.

There is, however, at least one glaring exception to this tolerably faithful portrayal of eastern customs—the introduction of suicide among the Mohammedans. As I pointed out in dealing with the sources of the Mustapha plays, European historians transformed the death of Tehihanger by grief into his death by suicide, contrary to the facts and all Ottoman historians. This was not merely a distortion of a particular fact, but, as we shall see, a violent misrepresentation of a fundamental rule of life among all Mohammedan peoples. Suicide of Orientals occurs in six of our body of plays—in *Alaham*, *Revenge for Honor*, *Osmond*, *Mustapha*, *Solymannidae*, and *Tamburlaine*, I. The Elizabethan audience might be justified in concluding from this fairly prominent presentation of suicide that suicide was as common among Orientals as it had been among the ancient Greeks and Romans, and still was among all Christian peoples. Nothing, however, could be farther from the truth as anyone acquainted with oriental life and history knows. A brief citation from von Hammer will suffice to make clear the truth of this assertion. In relating the death by self-starvation of Chosrew Pasha, a favorite minister of Suleiman's who in 1547 experienced a sudden fall from glory strikingly similar to that of Cardinal Wolsey, von Hammer says: "and he took neither food nor drink, till on the seventh day he died; a manner of death not uncommon among Greeks and Romans, but almost unheard of in the histories of the Moslims, who moreover are preserved from the cowardice of death through suicide by religious submission to the decrees of fate."¹ It is evident from this passage that suicide has *always* been rare among Moslims, just as it is today. Very likely the dramatist was not acquainted with this fact, and in making his Orientals commit suicide he was merely introducing one of the time-honored stage-scenes that would be perfectly true to life among any but Moslim peoples. Still, as indicating a lack of knowledge concerning a most

¹ III, 282.

fundamental attitude toward life, or at least a disregard for this attitude, the Elizabethan dramatist and, therefore, the Elizabethan people must be charged with a limited conception of at least one important phase of oriental life.

III. CONCLUSION

We are now ready to attempt an answer to the question, "How extensive and how accurate was the knowledge of the Elizabethans regarding the Orient?" We shall first glance very briefly at the political situation; and then, bringing together the conclusions reached in the study of the nature and extent of our corpus of plays as a whole, and the various aspects of the analysis we have undertaken, we shall endeavor to focus the light from these various sources on this final question.

If there ever was a time in the world's history when the eyes of Europe should have been turned to the Orient, the sixteenth century was that time. And if there ever was a period in which interest in the East was not merely one of curiosity or novelty, but an active interest made necessary by the conditions of the time, it was the Elizabethan period. In the year 1600 the Ottoman empire was by far the most powerful in the world. Its territories extended from the Persian Gulf on the southeast to within a few miles of Vienna on the northwest; from the Atlas Mountains of Africa on the southwest to the Caucasus on the northeast. Twenty different races inhabited this empire. Its armies had for two hundred years been the best in existence, and, although some improvement had taken place in the armies of western Europe during the sixteenth century, "the Ottoman troops were still far superior to them in discipline and in general equipment."¹ Under Suleiman the Magnificent, whose splendid reign of forty-six years had closed in 1566, the empire had been thoroughly consolidated, it enjoyed prosperity at home and universal prestige abroad.

We have seen what a flood of books poured over Europe in the sixteenth century, telling of the rise of the Ottoman empire, relating in detail the exploits of the sultans, describing minutely the customs and religion of these powerful people. The Elizabethans, like all

¹ Creasy, p. 201.

the rest of Europe, were eager readers of these books. But it was not alone through books or mere hearsay that they acquired an interest in the Orient. The contact was much more real. From the year 1579, when three English merchants obtained from the Porte the same privileges for English residents in Turkey as those already enjoyed by other nations, the number of English merchants, travelers, and officials who visited or settled in the Orient constantly increased. In 1583 William Harebone became the ambassador of Queen Elizabeth to Constantinople, and, as Creasy says,

sought anxiously to induce the Sultan to make common cause with her against the Spanish King [Philip II], and his great confederate the Pope of Rome . . . and there is a letter addressed by her agent at the Porte to the Sultan in Nov. 1587, at the time when Spain was threatening England with the Great Armada, in which the Sultan is implored to send, if not the whole tremendous force of his empire, at least 60 or 80 galleys, "against that idolater, the King of Spain, who, relying on the help of the Pope and all idolatrous princes, designs to crush the Queen of England, and then to turn his whole power to the destruction of the Sultan, and make himself universal monarch.¹

The Turks promised help, but did nothing. Not only did the English use persuasion, but they are said to have sought, by large gifts of money to Seadeddin the historian, to gain the ear of the Sultan, in whose favor he was. There are three other letters to the Sultan from Elizabeth or her ambassador; one from Windsor in 1582, concerning commercial privileges; another of 1587, requesting the release of some English prisoners from Algiers; a third of November 30, 1588, announcing the defeat of the Armada, and still urging the Sultan to attack Spain.² In 1599 the Queen sent Thomas Dallam, a master organ-builder, to Constantinople with the present of an elaborate organ for the Sultan as a means of winning his favor for English commerce in the East and his help against her enemies.³

These are some of the incidents showing the practical nature of the relations between England and Turkey. After 1600, of course, these relations were of increasing significance.⁴ Not only did the

¹ Creasy, pp. 227-28.

² See von Hammer, IV, 621-25, where all these letters are given in full.

³ See the *Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599-1600*, edited for the Hakluyt Society by J. Theodore Bent (London, 1893).

⁴ The first Turkish envoy to England, Mustapha, arrived in 1606.

English go to Turkey, but the Turks came to England—with different intent, however. The following from Bates's *Touring in 1600* illustrates the further reason the Elizabethans had for being interested in the Turks:

In 1616 Sir G. Carew writes to Sir T. Roe that the Turks are passing out of the Mediterranean now, had just carried off all the inhabitants of St. Marie, one of the Azores, and might be looked for round England soon. In 1630 they took six ships near Bristol and had about forty of their vessels in British seas. In the following year they sacked Baltimore in Ireland; but so far was the English government from being able to assert itself that Robert Bayle writes of his passage from Youghal to Bristol past Ilfracombe and Minehead in 1635, that he passed safely "though the Irish coasts were then sufficiently infested with Turkish galleys; while in 1645 they called at Fowey and carried off into slavery two hundred and forty persons, including some ladies."¹

It was not mere desire for novelty, then, that prompted this interest in the Orient. It was of necessity an active and lively interest in a powerful people, similar in many ways to our interest in the Japanese of today. With this hasty survey of the political situation in mind, we are now ready to draw our conclusions.

In the first place, we saw from the mere list of plays and the variety of subjects treated that the interest in the Orient was considerable. We then saw from the study of the types represented that the interest inclined to plays of a more serious nature—mostly tragedies and conqueror plays. From a survey of the sources we saw that in the majority of cases history was the material used, and that while this history was by no means always accurate as to details it reproduced the essential spirit of the Orient with a fair degree of truth and was in general faithfully followed by the authors of these plays. We saw further that these plays dealt with almost every land bordering the Mediterranean, but principally with Turkey. The nationalities represented included also practically all the races of the Orient. The Turks appeared most frequently, then the Moors; and while in certain cases striking inaccuracies were noticed, and while the delineation of the other oriental races was made with much less distinctness and understanding, yet on the whole the portrayal of the Oriental was fairly true to life. We saw, also, that in the depiction of customs the Elizabethan dramatist was, in general,

¹ E. S. Bates, *Touring in 1600* (New York, 1911), pp. 185-86.

possessed of sufficient knowledge and sympathy to present to his audience a fairly detailed and correctly colored picture of oriental ways of life. In the important matter of suicide, however, we were compelled to charge him with either lack of knowledge or disregard of it.

Keeping in mind, then, the considerable interest in the Orient that certainly did exist, and which is evidenced by the great number and variety of books about the Orient, by the number and variety of these plays themselves, and by the political situation of the time, we should expect a considerable and fairly accurate knowledge of the objects of this interest. And this, it seems to me, is what we find revealed in these plays. We have found some historical inaccuracies, a lack of any very distinct conception of race characteristics other than those of the Turks and Moors, and a rather serious misconception of a fundamental rule of life. Yet, if we consider the pitifully meager knowledge possessed by the average American regarding the history, character, and customs of the Oriental, aided as he is by the book of travel, the newspaper, the telegraph, and the touring-steamer, we shall feel that he has made little use of his advantages. And I have little hesitation in recording my belief that, speaking not only comparatively but absolutely, the average Elizabethan had as wide and as accurate a knowledge of the Orient as has the average American of the present day.

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THE ORIENTAL IN RESTORATION DRAMA

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THE ORIENTAL IN RESTORATION DRAMA

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The phrase "Light from the East" possesses, by virtue of an accident of geography, a more unique significance for English literature than for any other important literature of modern nations. Every outside influence of importance has, necessarily and literally, come from the East, in contradistinction, for example, to the case of Russian literature. But we do not, of course, use the phrase in this broad sense. The two greatest cultural influences in the formation of English thought and literature through the centuries, that of Greek and Roman civilization conveyed by means of the Renaissance, and that of Hebrew civilization conveyed, for a longer period, by means of the Bible, are both, in a stricter sense than that just used, Oriental in provenance and nature. Yet we do not call the classics and the Bible Oriental. There is, then, a third important civilization or group of civilizations, which, though deprived of the stimulus of a Renaissance or the irresistible power of a Bible to aid it, nevertheless made its attraction felt fairly early in English literature, and for the past four hundred years has affected with increasing profoundness the literary expression, if not the life, of the English people. This third civilization we call that of the Orient.

Because of its important place in the history of the literature, the influence of the Orient deserves more study than we have hitherto given it. Except for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it has been neglected.¹ And it is in the

¹ Only two important contributions to the subject, and these in restricted fields, have been made: Conant, Martha Pike, *The Oriental Tale in England in the 18th Century*, 1908, and Meester, M. E. de, *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the 19th Century*, 1915. Compare the fuller treatments for French literature by Martino, Pierre, *L'Orient dans la littérature française au xvii^e et au xviii^e siècle*, 1906.

two centuries preceding these that the real beginnings of the influence may be seen and studied, with its gradual development toward the conception of the Orient that produced the eighteenth century tale, the Orient-fascinated poet of the Romantic movement, and finally the scientific Orientalist of the nineteenth century. The place of the Oriental in Restoration drama constitutes one chapter in this study of four centuries of influence, which, linked with a similar study of the Oriental in the Elizabethan drama² and the half-century preceding it, offers significant evidence of the manner in which the lure of the Orient fastened itself upon the English dramatist and the English citizen, and revealed itself in the productions of the stage during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A consideration of the conception of the Oriental as a *dramatis persona* in Restoration drama may, then, profitably be entertained.

By way of clearness, we may first distinguish clearly the meaning of Orient and Oriental. Though these words convey to most minds a signification definite enough as opposed, broadly, to Occident and Occidental, they are yet capable of various interpretations when the question of exact delimitation is raised. What are the exact or approximate boundaries of the Orient, both in time and place (for it is a question both of chronology and geography)? Just what are the elements that go to form our picture of the Orient? In the broadest sense, an Oriental is one whose native habitat lies, without respect to time, within the following geographical area in the three continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia: In Europe, the Balkan States, Greece, and European Turkey; in Africa, all the lands bordering the southern shore of the Mediterranean, including the modern states of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt; in Asia, practically the entire continent, from the Mediterranean to the Pacific, including the Oceanic Archipelago.

² See my article, *The Oriental in Elizabethan Drama*, in *Modern Philology* XII: 423-447 of which this study is a continuation on the same general plan and to which rather frequent reference must be made in the present paper.

But this broad conception of the Orient, for us of the twentieth century, as well as for Englishmen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is virtually a composite of three kindred conceptions of the Orient, corresponding to the three great influences above-mentioned. We may call these, for lack of better terms, the biblical Orient, the classical Orient, and the Orient proper. The distinction will be clear if we compare three specimens of the English drama, whose subject-matter is alike in being Oriental in the broadest sense, yet different in varying distinctly the connotation of the term. Peele's *David and Bethsabe*, Dryden's *All for Love*, and Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes* are all Oriental, insofar as their scene of action is concerned. Yet the first is biblical, the second is classical, and only the third is specifically and properly Oriental.

In addition to limitations of habitat, then, we shall have to fix limitations of time that will exclude the biblical and classical character. The clearest dividing line is the sixth century, which saw the rise of Mohammedanism with its attendant menace to Europe and the consequent focusing of attention on the Saracen, Moor, Tartar, Turk and other races of the Orient proper. The term Oriental, as here employed, then, designates *anyone whose native habitat was in any of the parts of Europe, Africa, or Asia above described since the rise of Mohammedanism in the sixth century*. Only those characters thus limited by time and place may truly be called Oriental.

With the limitations of the field thus fixed, we may proceed with three purposes in view: First, to present a corpus of Restoration plays whose *dramatis personae* contains at least one Oriental; second, to make an analysis of this body of plays on the basis of type, sources employed, scenes of action, nationalities represented, and customs depicted; and third, to form some conclusions regarding the accuracy and extent of the knowledge of Restoration Englishmen concerning the Orient, particularly as compared with the knowledge revealed by Elizabethan Englishmen.

. . . .

With the above definition in mind, I have gathered together the following body of plays, arranged in chronological order, according to the most probable date of composition. The list includes information regarding the title, author, scene of action, and sources employed. The scene of action here given is merely the country. The sources given are the result of the consensus of best opinion. Exhaustive examination of all the sources for the purpose of verification has been obviously impossible. In some cases, however, to be noted later, I am largely responsible for the determination of the sources here indicated.

LIST OF PLAYS³

1. 1656. *The Siege of Rhodes (Part I)*. Sir Wm. Davenant. H. Play (operatic). Rhodes. Sources: for historical matter, Knolles, *Generall Historie of the Turkes*, 1603, and Bosio's *Istoria della sacra religione*, etc., 1594; for romantic matter, doubtful.⁴
- *2. 1658. *The Tragedy of the Unhappy Fair Irene*. Gilbert Swinhoe. Trag. Turkey. Based on Knolles' *Historie* (?).
3. 1661. *The Siege of Rhodes (Part II)*. Same as *S. of R. (Part I)*.
- *4. 1664. *Irena*. Author unknown. Trag. Turkey (?) Source unknown.
5. 1665. *Mustapha, the son of Solyman the Magnificent*. Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery. H. Play. Hungary. Based on the episode of *Mustapha et Zéangir* in Mlle. de Scudéry's *Ibrahim, ou L'Illustre Bassa*, 1641 (possibly through H. Cogan's translation, 1652).

³ I have had access to all but the six plays designated by an asterisk. Two of these, Howard's *Conquest of China* and *Vienna Besieged*, are non-extant, while *Tamerlane the Beneficent* exists in MS only. Copies of the remaining three are rare and difficult of access.

⁴ For the latest discussion of the sources of this play see J. W. Tupper's edition of *Love and Honour* and *The Siege of Rhodes*, 180-1.

6. 1668. *The Great Favourite: or The Duke of Lerma*, Sir Robert Howard. H. Play (?) Spain. Based on an old play called *The Duke of Lerma*,⁵ and, probably, contemporary historians.
7. 1670? *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards* (Part I). John Dryden. H. Play. Spain. Based mainly on Mlle. de Scudéry's *Ibrahim* (1641), *Almahide* (1660), and *Le Grand Cyrus* (1649-53), as well as La Calprenède's *Cléopâtre* and one or two Spanish sources.
8. 1670? Same (Part II). Same as Part I.
9. c.1670. *The Conquest of China by the Tartars*. Elkanah Settle. H. Play. China. Source doubtful, probably some contemporary history.
- *10. c.1670. *The Conquest of China by the Tartars*.⁶ Sir Robert Howard. H. Play? China? Source unknown.
11. c.1670. *The Empress of Morocco*. Elkanah Settle. H. Play. Morocco. Based on material communicated by the Earl of Norwich.⁷
12. 1671. *Mamamouchi; or, the Citizen turn'd Gentleman*. Edward Ravenscroft. Com. England. Taken from Molière's *M. de Pourceaugnac* (1669) and *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1670).
13. 1671. *Abdelazar; or, the Moor's Revenge*. Mrs. Aphra Behn. Trag. Spain. Alteration of *Lust's Dominion* (ptd. 1657).
14. 1672. *The Gentleman Dancing Master*. Wm. Wycherley. Com. England. Influenced by Calderon's *El Maestro de Danzar* (date?), and Molière's *L'Ecole des Maris* (1661).

⁵ See Howard's statement to this effect, apparently overlooked heretofore, in his preface "To the Reader."

⁶ See Dryden's letter to his sons at Rome (Saintsbury's ed. of Dryden, XVIII: 133), in which he indicates his intention of altering Howard's play for stage presentation.

⁷ See Settle's dedicatory epistle to the Earl of Norwich.

15. 1672. *Amboyna*. John Dryden. Trag. Molucca Islands. Main plot founded on history; the rape of Ysabinda from Cinthio's *Gli Hecatomithi* (1565).
16. 1674. *The Empress of Morocco*. Thomas Duffet. Farce. Morocco. A burlesque of Settle's play (see above).
17. 1674. *Love and Revenge*. Elkanah Settle. Trag. France. A material alteration of Wm. Heminge's *The Fatal Contract* (ptd. 1653).
18. 1675. *Aurengzebe*. John Dryden. H. Play. India. Based mainly on *The History of the Late Revolution of the Empire of the Great Mogol*, etc. By François Bernier. First Eng. ed. 1671; one scene from Scudéry's *Le Grand Cyrus*.
19. 1675. *The Siege of Constantinople*. Nevil Payne? Trag. Turkey. Sources: for historical matter, doubtful, possibly Knolles' *Historie* or Peter Heylin's *Cosmography* (1622); for contemporary allusions, the political situation in England.
20. 1676. *Ibrahim, the Illustrious Bassa*. Elkanah Settle. H. Play. Turkey. Based on Mlle. de Scudéry's *Ibrahim* (1641), possibly through Cogan's translation (1652, 1674) or George de Scudéry's play of the same name (1642).
21. 1680. *The Conspiracy: or, the Change of Government*. W. Whitaker. H. Play. Turkey. Source unknown.
22. 1681. *Tamerlane the Great*. Chas. Saunders. Trag.? Tartary. Based on a novel called *Tamerlane and Asteria* (date?).⁸
23. 1682. *The Heir of Morocco, with the Death of Gayland*. Elkanah Settle. Trag. Algeria. Source doubtful, probably the same as for *The Empress of Morocco*.

⁸ See Saunders' preface to the play.

24. 1682. *Venice Preserved*. Thomas Otway. Trag. Italy. Based on Saint-Réal's historical novel, *La Conjuración des Espagnols contre la Venise en 1618* (1674).
25. 1682. *The False Count*. Mrs. Aphra Behn. Farce. Spain. From Molière's *Les Précieuses Ridicules* (1659) and *Les Fourberies de Scapin* (1671).
26. 1682. *The Loyal Brother, or the Persian Prince*. Thomas Southern. Trag.? Persia. Based on a novel called *Tachmas, Prince of Persia*, trans. from French by P. Porter (1676).
27. 1686. *The Sacrifice*. Sir Francis Fane. H. Play. China. Source unknown, possibly Knolles' *Historie* or a similar historical work.
28. 1687. *The Island Princess*. Nahum Tate. Tragicom. Molucca Islands. Alteration of Fletcher's *Island Princess* (ptd. 1647, 1679).
- *29. before 1688. *Vienna Besieged*.⁹ Author unknown. Droll. Austria? Source unknown, probably contemporary accounts.
30. 1689. *Don Sebastian*. John Dryden. Trag. Morocco. Source doubtful; mostly of Dryden's invention.
31. c.1690. *The Abdicated Prince: or, The Adventures of Four Years*. Anon. Tragicom. (allegorical). "Hungaria Nova." An Oriental allegory of contemporary English history.
- *32. 1692. *Tamerlane the Beneficent*. Wm. Popple? Trag. Turkey. Source unknown.
33. 1692. *The Fairy-Queen*. Elkanah Settle? Opera. Varied scene. Alteration of Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*.
- *34. 1694. *The Ambitious Slave; or, a Generous Revenge*. Elkanah Settle. Trag. Varied scene in Orient. Source unknown.
35. 1696. *The Royal Mischief*. Mrs. De la Riviere Manley. Trag. Georgia (in the Caucasus). Based

⁹ See Hazlitt's *Manual for the Collector... of Old English Plays*, 246.

- on *The Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia*, etc., 1686.
36. 1696. *Ibrahim, the 13th Emperor of the Turks*. Mrs. Mary Pix. Trag. Turkey. Based on Sir Paul Rycaut's *The History of the Turkish Empire, from the Year 1623 to the Year 1677*, etc. 1687.
 37. 1697. *The Mourning Bride*. Wm. Congreve. Trag. Spain. Source unknown.
 38. 1698. *Beauty in Distress*. Peter A. Motteux. Trag. Portugal. Source unknown.
 39. 1699. *The Island Princess*. Peter A. Motteux. Opera. Molucca Islands. Altered from Tate's *Island Princess*.
 40. 1702. *Tamerlane*. Nicholas Rowe. Trag. Turkey. Source unknown.
 41. 1703. *The Governor of Cyprus*. John Oldmixon. Trag. Cyprus. From a novel called *The Governour of Cyprus, or The Loves of Virotto and Dorothea* (date?)
 42. 1704. *The Conquest of Spain*. Mrs. Mary Pix. Trag. Spain. Based on Wm. Rowley's *All's Lost by Lust*, 1633.
 43. 1704. *Abr-mule; or, Love and Empire*. Joseph Trapp. H. Play. Turkey. Source unknown.
 44. 1706. *Almyna, or The Arabian Vow*. Mrs. Manley? Trag. Arabia. Founded on some "Life" of Caliph Valid Almanzor, and the beginning of *The Arabian Nights Entertainments*.
 45. before 1708. *Irene, or The Fair Greek*. Chas. Goring. Trag. Turkey. Source unknown.

We have here a body of forty-five Restoration plays introducing Orientals into the dramatis personae, as compared with a similar number in the Elizabethan period.¹⁰ Of these forty-five, only two are non-extant, *Vienna Besieged* and Howard's *Conquest of China*, as compared with thirteen non-extant plays in the earlier period. The time covered by

¹⁰ There are 47 in my published list. But I have since added several plays, in most of which, however, the Oriental element is slight.

this group is 52 years, from 1656 (the date of *The Siege of Rhodes*, the first Oriental play since the closing of the theatres in 1642) to 1708, by which time the dominance of Restoration ideals may be said practically to have ceased. A merely external comparison of the Restoration and Elizabethan groups of plays reveals several interesting likenesses and differences. In the first place, it is obvious that the vogue of the Orient was a more continuous and lively one in Restoration drama than in the preceding era. The noticeable gaps between the four successive groups of Elizabethan plays¹¹ find no parallels in the later period. Yet, although the plays follow one another much more regularly, they fall likewise into four fairly distinct groups, as follows:

I.	1656—1668	12 years	6 plays
II.	1670—1676	6 years	14 plays
III.	1680—1699	19 years	19 plays
IV.	1702—1708	6 years	6 plays

It is clear that, so far as numbers go, groups II and III are the main centers of interest—a body of thirty-three plays in about thirty years. It is interesting, moreover, to note that group II synchronizes in the main with the period of the heroic play and that seven heroic plays are here found, whereas in group III ten of the nineteen plays are tragedies, an evidence of the changing emphasis upon type between 1675 and 1680. Groups II and III are, then, the heroic play and tragedy groups respectively. Groups I and II are not without their distinctive importance, however, since, when the plays are considered from the point of view of their *wholly* Oriental character, these two groups show a far larger number of plays entirely Oriental (five in group I and all in group II) than the two middle groups.

Not merely in comparative numbers, however, does Restoration drama reveal greater interest in the Orient than does Elizabethan drama. Considerable as were the number and

¹¹ See the article above indicated, *Mod. Phil.* XII: 426. Succeeding references are to following parts of the same article.

range of authors represented in the earlier period, their number and range are even more considerable in the later period. The appeal of the Orient to Restoration dramatists was far wider, attracting every important writer of heroic and tragic plays in the whole period with the single exception of Lee. Comedy, as was noticeably true of the earlier period, is scantily represented, being inherently little adapted to the treatment of Oriental matter. Dryden, Davenant, Otway, Rowe, Wycherley, and Congreve are all present, as well as less important but well-known figures like Boyle, Howard, Settle, Southern, Ravenscroft, Fane, Tate, Motteux, Mrs. Behn, Mrs. Pix, and Mrs. Manley, not to mention the distinctly minor dramatists. The figures lacking are, aside from Lee, all comedy writers—Etherege, D'Urfey, Farquhar, Shadwell, Vanbrugh. Not merely this range of representation, however, is significant. The fact that Dryden contributed five plays, Settle seven, and several others two each indicates that the Orient was made use of in more than a merely casual manner—that it had, in a word, a distinct place, more so than in Elizabethan drama, in the business of play production.

In turning to the more detailed analysis of individual plays, we may first consider briefly the matter of dramatic types. The following summary indicates the types found, with their relative frequency:

TYPES OF PLAYS

Heroic plays -----	12
Heroic plays (operatic) -----	2
Tragedies -----	22
Tragi-comedies -----	2
Comedies -----	2
Operas -----	2
Farces -----	2
Drolls -----	1

As in the case of Elizabethan drama, the serious plays constitute the great majority, only seven being of a lighter nature. The Elizabethan conqueror play has given way to the heroic play, and the plays of travel and adventure, at best a temporary outburst of a decade or so, do not appear at all. The opera, farce, and droll are new forms, though of little importance. The primary interest, of course, centers in the heroic plays and tragedies, especially the former. Of the 36 plays of these two types, three are difficult to classify. *The Duke of Lerma*, though included by Dr. Chase¹² in his list of heroic plays, is described by Langbaine¹³ and Ristine¹⁴ as a tragi-comedy, and it would seem difficult, in view of its blank verse medium and Howard's opposition to rhymed verse, to square it with Dr. Chase's definition of the heroic play. In like manner, *Tamerlane the Great* and *The Loyal Brother*, though in blank verse, are as clearly of the heroic type as *The Duke of Lerma*.¹⁵ Both tone and medium are, perhaps, distinct enough in the heroic play type in general, but it would seem that tone should be considered of first importance as a criterion. Two heroic plays not considered by Dr. Chase (aside from the two doubtful plays just mentioned) are Howard's non-extant *Conquest of China* and Trapp's *Abra-mule*. Altogether, the prominence of the heroic play in our list is the most significant feature of this study of types, since not only do we find seven successive examples between 1665 and 1670, but these include such prominent landmarks as Dryden's *Conquest of Granada*, Settle's *Empress of Morocco* and *Conquest of China*, and Boyle's *Mustapha*. And it is the exaggerated prominence of this type, casting its influence over tragedy as well, that gave that false color, or rather colorlessness, to the Oriental characters of the dramatis personae which made no distinction between

¹² Chase, L. N., *The English Heroic Play*, 238.

¹³ Langbaine, G., *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, 276.

¹⁴ Ristine, F. H., *English Tragicomedy*, 214.

¹⁵ The use of the term "tragedy" on the title-page is of no significance. Settle's *Empress of Morocco* and *Conquest of China* are entitled "tragedies," as are genuine tragedies like *Ibrahim the 13th*, *The Royal Mischiefs*, *Almyna*, etc.

Turk, Moor, or Tartar and endowed the hero of any race with the qualities of an Almanzor. Tragedy suffered less distortion of truth, but it should be borne in mind that the artificialities of the heroic type thrust forward a view of the Oriental which was without doubt far from the genuine conception held of him by Restoration Englishmen.

A second aspect in which this body of plays may be considered, one of greater significance than that just touched upon, concerns the sources from which these individual plays were derived. It should be remarked at the outset that, as regards the fundamental character of sources available during the Restoration period, conditions were not materially different from those that prevailed fifty years previous. It is true that from the point of view of mere quantity of sources the Restoration dramatist had a great advantage over his Elizabethan predecessor, though Von Hammer's list of over 1600 works dealing with the Orient printed between 1500 and 1640 shows what a wealth of material was accessible even to the Elizabethan dramatist.¹⁶ Travel to the Orient had increased considerably, diplomatic and commercial relations were becoming much more intimate, the French romance writers of the school of Mlle. de Scudéry were turning out ponderous volumes of an entirely new *genre*, and it is certainly true that European contact with all parts of the East was in general much closer than during the early years of the century. In spite of all this, however, the *fundamental character* of these accounts, particularly the romances, remained about the same—that is, the sense of historical accuracy, the ability and the willingness to distinguish legend from fact, were still undeveloped. In one important field, progress had been made. The accounts of travelers, consuls, and diplomatic officials, who had seen things at first hand, were more numerous and more accurate than heretofore. But, as we shall see later, these accounts were little drawn upon, compared with the older histories and highly-colored romances. While works on the Orient, then, were much more numerous, their character

¹⁶ Von Hammer, Joseph, *Geschichte der osmanischen Reiche* (Pest, 1827), Vol. X.

was on the whole not such as to lead us to expect appreciably more accurate portrayals of Oriental history, life, and character. With these considerations in mind, we may examine the various classes of sources used, as represented in the following table, with the number of instances in which each class was drawn upon :

SOURCES EMPLOYED

I. History and travel (including contemporary accounts) -----	20
II. French dramas and romances -----	10
III. English plays -----	8
IV. Novels -----	6
V. Miscellaneous -----	4
VI. Unknown -----	12

As will be seen, we know the sources, at least in part, for all but twelve plays. As in the case of Elizabethan drama, the historical works were drawn upon most heavily. Histories, novels, and English plays were more numerous as sources than in the earlier period. The miscellaneous sources are in both cases unimportant. The most striking difference is, of course, the introduction of an entirely new class of material—French drama and romance, which in quantity and influence were second in importance only to history. As the heroic play was the most significant type, so French literature was the most significant influence, when the two periods are compared.

First in importance are the historical and descriptive works. Knolles' *Generall Historie* was probably used in at least five plays, Bosio's *Istoria* in two, and Rycaut's "Continuation", Chardin's *Travels into Persia*, and Bernier's history of the Mogul Empire each once. It is, of course, possible that Knolles and Rycaut were used much more than we are certainly aware of, but our certain knowledge shows that, as in the case of Elizabethan drama, Knolles for one has been overestimated as a single source, and we should expect much more use of the contemporary Rycaut. Of perhaps greatest inter-

est is the employment by Dryden in *Aurengzebe* of François Bernier's *The History of the Late Revolution of the Empire of the Great Mogol*, etc. (first English ed. 1671). So far as I am aware, the certain use of this work has not hitherto been remarked by historians of the Restoration drama. Tavernier and Bernier have both been cited as *possible* sources, but it has apparently escaped the attention of Dryden scholars that Archibald Constable, the recent editor of Bernier's work, after a careful comparison of the two works, concludes that "Bernier's *entire work* formed the *leit motif*, nay a good deal more than that, of Dryden's drama."¹⁷ In support of this statement he prints several illustrative passages with strikingly apt comparisons to portions of Bernier's work.¹⁸ Another interesting case is that of Mrs. Pix's use of Ryeaut's history of the Turkish Empire (1687) in her *Ibrahim*. My comparison of the two works shows clearly how she used the brief story of Ibrahim's last days (pp. 76-79 in Ryeaut) as the basis of her play, giving names to the nameless characters, transferring the dagger episode from the old widow to the young and unfortunate victim of the sultan's passion, and in other really skilful ways heightening the color legitimately to enhance the dramatic interest. The remaining historical sources not yet mentioned include unascertained histories and contemporary accounts for seven plays (including the monstrous political allegory of *The Abdicated Prince*) and either verbal or written communication from the Earl of Norwich, ambassador to Morocco, as the basis of Settle's *Empress of Morocco* and probably also his *Heir of Morocco*.

Next in importance and probably of greater interest is the class of French drama and romance, a new influence in English drama dealing with the Orient. Molière, Mlle. de Scudéry, and La Calprenède constitute the sources. Five plays of Molière were used, *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, *L'École des Maris*, *Les Précieuses Ridic*

¹⁷ *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, A. D. 1656-1668. By François Bernier—By Archibald Constable—Westminster—MDCCCXCI, page 466.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 465-9, Appendix I, "Regarding Dryden's Tragedy of Aurengzebe".

cules, and *Les Fourberies de Scapin*. Of these the most interesting is the case of *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, whose famous Turkish scenes furnished the plagiarist Ravenscroft with not merely the material but the title of his *Mamamouchi*. Three of the romances of Mlle. de Seudéry, *Ibrahim*, *Almahide*, and *Le Grand Cyrus*, furnished material for the whole or parts of five plays, all of them important, the most outstanding being Dryden's *Conquest of Granada*, indebted to all three romances, as well as to other sources. La Calprenède's *Cléopâtre* was influential in this last play and nowhere else.¹⁹

The remaining sources may be dismissed with a word or two. Eight different English plays, mostly from the Elizabethan period, were the basis of eight Restoration plays. The cases deserving particular mention are Settle's alteration of Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* into his *The Fairy Queen*, introducing Chinese characters; Duffet's burlesque of Settle's *Empress of Morocco*, which did much to cast ridicule on the heroic play; and the two versions of Fletcher's *Island Princess* by Tate and Motteux, a tragicomedy and an opera seizing upon a far-away *milieu* as apt material for scenic effects and heroic atmosphere. Six plays were based on novels, three of them now forgotten English stories. Finally, four plays were drawn from miscellaneous material, including a play of Calderon's, whose isolation in this regard stands as striking testimony to the unexpectedly small influence which Spanish literature exerted on the production of Restoration plays on the Orient.

One final word should be said regarding the accuracy with which these sources were used. The general character of the sources has already been pointed out. But the vogue of the heroic play and its unquestionable influence upon other types of drama were powerful forces in the direction of the further distortion of truth. What Dryden does in elevating the

¹⁹ For further discussion of French influence on Restoration drama, see, among others, Upham, A. H., *The French Influence in English Literature XVII^e siècle* (1906), and Miles, D. H., *The Influence of Molière on Restoration Comedy* (1910), and Hill, H. W., *La Calprenède's Romances and the Restoration Drama* (Univ. of Chicago thesis, no date).

character of Aurengzebe in conformity with the demands of the heroic play, is done by practically all dramatists who deal with Oriental characters. The aim was not *truth* but *effect*. And this charge cannot be laid against the Elizabethans. Their sources were inaccurate, but they used them, on the whole, with care. The Restoration dramatist, in his passion for scenic grandeur and heroic atmosphere, voluntarily and needlessly misread his sources and gave us pictures of the Oriental that, as regards character, are either colorless, sensational, or violently untrue.

So far, in our discussion of types and sources, we have touched upon the more or less external aspects and relations of these Oriental plays. We now come to those internal aspects which have more to do with their real nature and spirit, namely, the scenes of action in which they are laid, the nationalities which they present upon the stage, and the customs and life of the Oriental which they depict. A brief discussion of these three aspects, with the most salient illustrations of each, will suffice to make clear the essential truth about the nature of the Oriental as represented on the Restoration stage.

Of perhaps less intrinsic importance yet of considerable significance, especially as compared with Elizabethan drama, is a survey of the scenes of action to be found in these plays, as indicated in the following summary showing the number of plays laid in each country:

SCENES OF ACTION		
A.	Turkey, in -----	10 plays
B.	Spain -----	7 “
C.	China, Morocco, and the Moluccas, each 3 -----	9 “
D.	Rhodes, England, and varied, each 2- -----	6 “
E.	Algeria, Arabia, Cyprus, Persia, Georgia, India, Tartary, “Hun- garia Nova”, Portugal, Hungary, Austria, France, and Italy, each one -----	13 “
		—
		45

As compared with the Elizabethan group, the difference is striking. Whereas in the earlier period only eleven different countries are represented, there are here twenty-two countries, indicating obviously a much wider range of scene, an intenser search for new and strange localities. The Elizabethan scenes are, with the exception of Persia, Tartary, and Arabia, confined to the shores of the Mediterranean, whereas the Restoration plays cover not merely the whole territory previously seized upon but most of Asia. China, India, and Georgia, as well as the European Hungary, Austria, and Portugal, are new scenes. Turkey seems to have lost some of its hold, being the scene of fewer plays than before, though it still remains the favorite setting. Spain has more attention, as being the center of the struggles between the Moors and the Spaniards represented in such plays as *The Conquest of Granada* and *The Conquest of Spain*. The most curious setting is the "Hungaria Nova" of *The Abdicated Prince*, the scurrilous political allegory which, under a very thin masquing of Englishmen as Hungarians, Turks, and Bulgarians, depicts the corruption of the court and the downfall of the recently deposed James II. Two other plays whose setting had contemporary political significance are Dryden's *Amboyna* and Whitaker's *Conspiracy*, the former designed to support the Dutch War, the latter containing a satire on Lord Shaftesbury. In two plays, *The Ambitious Slave* and *The Fairy Queen*, the scene is varied, with no particular significance except as the latter shows Settle's craving for the scenic effects which, to his mind, Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* would not offer in its original form. The main significance of the aspect of *milieu*, then, is the great range of scene exhibited in the Restoration group.

Much more important, of course, is the consideration of the nationalities represented on the stage, both as regards the centers of greatest interest and the manner in which the various races are delineated. The following table shows the frequency with which each race figures in the plays we are considering:

ORIENTAL RACES REPRESENTED

A. Turks, in -----	21	plays
B. Moors -----	18	“
C. Tartars -----	7	“
D. Greeks -----	7	“
E. Hindus -----	5	“
F. Chinese -----	4	“
G. Persians and Moluccans, each-----	3	“
H. Algerians, Arabs, Scythians, and Georgians, each -----	1	“

The interesting feature of this summary is the introduction of three races hitherto untreated in English drama—the Hindus, Chinese, and Georgians. There are fewer plays with Turks, Persians, and Arabs than in Elizabethan drama, though the Turks still retain their place as the greatest center of interest. The Moors find place in exactly the same number of plays as before, but the Tartars are of somewhat greater attraction. There are eight plays whose dramatis personae is made up entirely or practically of one race: the two plays entitled *The Empress of Morocco* present Moors only, *The Loyal Brother* Persians only, *The Conspiracy* and *Ibrahim, the 13th Emperor*, Turks, *The Royal Mischief* Georgians, and *Aurengzebe* Hindus. In the plays portraying the contact, usually the struggle, of merely two nations, the combinations most frequently met are Moors and Spaniards, Turks and Greeks, Turks and Tartars, and Tartars and Chinese.

What, now, can be said regarding the manner of portrayal of these individual races, particularly as regards truth to life? When viewed from this point of view we are bound to admit that Restoration drama falls far short of Elizabethan drama, for with comparatively few exceptions the presentation may be described as either “heroic” and consequently inaccurate, or simply colorless. All Oriental races seem to suffer almost equally in this regard, whereas in Elizabethan drama there is a very fair approach to accuracy in the presentation of at least the Moors and Turks, though the other races are not distinguished with any care. The increased accuracy of char-

acter portrayal which one would expect with increased knowledge of the Orient during the Restoration period is not forthcoming. For what reason? Here again the charge must be laid at the doors of heroic drama, a species which inevitably distorted true character to gain stage effect; and since the heroic play cast its blight over tragedy as well, the resulting deterioration was almost universal. The best examples of this heroic distortion of character are to be seen in the exalted characters of the Turkish Solyman in *The Siege of Rhodes*, the Tartar Zungteus in *The Conquest of China*, the Hindu Aurengzebe in Dryden's play, and the Moorish Almanzor in *The Conquest of Granada*; and, on the other side, the debased characters of Laula in *The Empress of Morocco* and Kiosem in *The Conspiracy*. The extravagance, the superhuman physical prowess, and the unexpected nobility of Dryden's Almanzor may be taken as typical of the "heroic" elevation of character above its actual plane,²⁰ whereas the debasement of the actual character may be typified by the sensual, murderous, and brazenly defiant Laula, the Empress of Morocco, who, when asked if she fears not eternal punishment for her crimes, cries:

Hell! No, of that I scorn to be afraid:
I'll send such things to the Infernal Shade;
Betray and Kill, and Damn to such degree,
I'll crowd up Hell, till there's no Room for Me.²¹

The ridicule which *The Rehearsal* poured upon the heroic play was well deserved, and Duffet's burlesque of *The Empress of Morocco*, though coarse and cheap in itself, helped to achieve the purpose expressed in the epilogue to his farce:

Since with Success great Bards grow proud and resty,
To get good Plays be kind to bad Travesty.

Of purely colorless portrayal examples are numerous. From *The Siege of Rhodes*, which, as Schelling says, "lays no claim to plot, characterization, or variety save such as arises

²⁰ For a full discussion of Almanzor as the typical hero of the heroic play, see Chase, L. N., *The English Heroic Play*, 55-65.

²¹ *The Empress of Morocco*, ed. of 1687, p. 21.

from change of scene, appropriate costume, and attendant music,'²² clear through Goring's *Irene*, we are constantly struck by the lack of any distinction, in most plays, between Chinese and Tartars, Turks and Greeks, and even Moors and Christians.²³ Dryden's Ysabinda in *Amboyna* has hardly a touch of distinction; and the Moors in *Love and Revenge*, *The Mourning Bride*, and *The Conquest of Spain*, the Turks in *Ibrahim*, *the Illustrious Bassa* and *Abra-mule*, the Chinese in *The Fairy-Queen* and *The Conquest of China*, the Greek courtesan in *Venice Preserved*, and the Arabs in *Almyna* differ almost solely in being set down amidst different surroundings. In at least six plays²⁴ the Moors are still confused with negroes, as in Elizabethan drama, the most striking proof being found in the interesting full-page portrait of the perfectly black Empress of Morocco serving as frontispiece to Duffet's farce. Inaccuracy of portrayal is, however, most significantly represented in the three plays presenting Tamerlane and Bajazet, namely, Saunders' *Tamerlane the Great*, Fane's *Sacrifice*, and Rowe's *Tamerlane*. In all three Tamerlane is made noble and generous, free from even religious prejudice, whereas Bajazet is the incarnation of impetuosity, cruelty, and rage, beating out his brains, in harmony with the still persisting legend, against the bars of his iron cage.

A few plays, however, redeem somewhat the reputation of the group as a whole for character portrayal. Roxolana in *Mustapha* and Almahide in *The Conquest of Granada* are dignified women, and Constable points out that Dryden's conception of Nourmahal in *Aurengzebe*, being in perfect keeping with the facts as narrated by Bernier, does not deserve the criticism it has received as being unworthy of him. The presentation of the disguised Turks in *The False Count* shows a fair knowledge of the people and their customs, as do

²² *The Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, VIII: 134.

²³ Cf. Tate's *Island Princess*, in which two or three Moors utter Christian sentiments of pity wholly out of character.

²⁴ *The Duke of Lerma*, *The Conquest of China*, *The Gentleman Dancing Master*, *The Empress of Morocco*, *Beauty in Distress*, and *Love and Revenge*.

Ibrahim, the 13th Emperor, The Governor of Cyprus, The Loyal Brother, and *Abdelazar*, and particularly *The Royal Mischief*, whose sensuality and incest find support in the source of the play, Chardin's *Travels into Persia*. *The Loyal Brother* and *Abdelazar* are of further interest as containing parallels to two Shakespearean characters. Ismael in the former is a miniature Iago, whereas Abdelazar in the latter, particularly in his speech on Moors, reminds one of Othello. It will be noted, however, that only three of these plays are heroic, all but one of the others being tragedies; moreover, the most natural characters in these three heroic plays are not the major characters, upon whom the "heroic" portrayal was most lavishly spent.

It is fair to conclude, then, that with the exception of eight or ten plays, mostly tragedies, Restoration drama falls short of Elizabethan drama in the portrayal of Oriental character, and that the cause of the defect must be sought in the artificial elevation and debasement of character inaugurated by the heroic play.

Quite the reverse are the results of a consideration of the last aspect to be discussed—the depiction of the life and customs of the Oriental. If the interest in character distinction was slight, the inclination was very strong in the direction of careful presentation of Oriental settings, the realistic introduction of customs, rites, and observances that would lend "atmosphere" to the play, references to the religious practices of the race involved, and other devices tending to visualize the difference between the *milieu* of, say, a comedy of commonplace English manners and that of a tragedy of the far-away life of Turkey or Morocco. Three possible reasons may be found for this emphasis upon the more scenic aspects of the plays. There was first, of course, the general tendency toward the elaboration of scene that, beginning with Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes*, operated throughout the Restoration period. In the second place, there was again the special influence of the heroic play, depending for its success largely upon variety and novelty of scene, qualities shared also by the opera. Lastly, there was the increased acquaintanceship

with the Orient, obtained partly through histories, but more through the accounts of contemporary travelers and diplomatic officials, and, most particularly, through the stimulating romances of the school of Mlle. de Scudéry, which came near creating a veritable vogue for interest in the Orient. It is a far cry, indeed, from the comparatively scanty portrayal of Oriental atmosphere found in Elizabethan drama to the abundant, vivid, and detailed presentation (often too detailed) of at least the outstanding customs and practices found in the Restoration plays.

The Siege of Rhodes, significantly enough, marks the beginning not merely of Restoration drama as a whole but of the new attitude toward the matter of the Orient, the seizing of the great opportunity for scenic effects that lay in the still little known, far-away lands of the East. The variety and life of these scenes laid in Rhodes are repeated again and again through the period, necessitating abundant stage directions and long descriptions of the settings at the openings of the numerous and frequently shifted scenes. It was Settle, of course, who contributed most to the stage machinery of the period, and his seven Oriental plays are illustrative of these full stage directions.²⁵ Great care is taken to depict the seraglio vividly, to present adequately the gorgeous rooms of Oriental monarchs, and to picture the attractive groves, gardens, and palm-lined walks as the appropriate surroundings of the characters.²⁶ Not merely in material setting, however, is unusual interest evinced. The constant introduction of mutes, with the ever-present bow-strings and bowls of poison, the eunuchs coming and going, and the Mohammedan priests quoting the Koran²⁷ is evidence both of a genuine knowledge of these details and an ability to turn them to account on the stage. To be sure, the tendency led to exaggeration, and in many plays it results in sheer sensationalism and extrava-

²⁵ See particularly *The Empress of Morocco* and *The Fairy-Queen*.

²⁶ For illustration of these details see, especially, *Abra-mule*, *The Conquest of China*, *The Empress of Morocco*, *Ibrahim the Illustrious Bassa*, *The Fairy-Queen*, and *Motteux's Island Princess*.

²⁷ Cf. *Mustapha*, *The Loyal Brother*, *Ibrahim, the 13th Emeprror*, *Abra-mule*, *The False Count*, etc.

gancee, making the play more like a kaleidoscope than a drama of normal human beings. The horrible "black room" scene in *The Conspiracy*, the "mummy" scene in *Sacrifice*, the scene in *The Royal Mischief* in which Osman is shot off in a cannon, and the scene of Bajazet beating out his brains in *Tamerlane* and *Sacrifice* are examples of this exaggeration. Suicide of Mohammedans, moreover, is even more prevalent than in Elizabethan drama, revealing the same ignorance of a fundamental religious belief that characterizes the earlier period.²⁸ Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the Restoration dramatist knew much more than did his predecessor about the life, customs, beliefs, and characteristic surroundings of the Oriental, and that he chose to exhibit this knowledge in strikingly vivid and concrete ways, even to the point of abusing his opportunity.

What now are the conclusions to be derived from this consideration of the Oriental on the Restoration stage? In the first place, we have seen that the very considerable number of plays and their wide distribution among the dramatists of the period, including practically all of the prominent playwrights except some writers of comedy, indicate a greater and broader interest in the Orient than has hitherto obtained. As in the case of Elizabethan drama this interest inclined to the production of serious plays, with the introduction of the new and important class of heroic plays. The sources drawn upon were, as in the earlier period, mostly histories, but a new source, that of French drama and romance, was only second in importance and perhaps greater in significance. Accuracy in the employment of sources, however, is less evident than in the earlier period, particularly as regards character portrayal. The range of scene presented is very much wider than heretofore, and the nationalities portrayed are of greater variety—the whole of the continent of Asia being drawn upon for setting and character. Turkey and the Turks are still predominant, but the Chinese, the Hindus, and others come in for their share of interest, and the lands of the

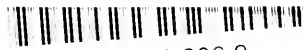
²⁸ See, for a discussion of this matter, *Mod. Phil.*, XII: 443.

Mediterranean give way to the farther countries of Asia proper. In one important particular, the accurate portrayal of character, the Restoration falls short of the Elizabethan period, with the heroic drama largely to blame for this defect. In the portrayal of customs, however, the Restoration drama is superior, showing more knowledge and more inclination to exhibit it. Combining these conclusions, we may say that so far as external matters were concerned, matters of scene, rites, observances, etc., the Restoration period shows an advance towards a more intimate knowledge of the Orient, but that as regards the fundamental character of the Oriental himself, though Restoration Englishmen may have known more than their predecessors, they at least did not choose to reveal this knowledge in their plays. For this distinction it is not too much to say that the influence of the heroic play, emphasizing the external at the expense of the internal, was at least largely to blame.

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